1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *hie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*lauga tolu* or *lauga wu*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *hie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawa li te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tupotupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land) certainly,
Yongia ona wakaeveveuga.	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hio* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe was mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and tied. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*uahomaua* or *mea uahalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*takow*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *hito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

292. 796 613 643 778 776 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly headdress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consultations. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The garment (*opa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malokiteiangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted sennit and called *opa hupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting the god Tumalivaka was made of plaited *uulo* fiber (*opa uulo*); that of Tua for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hio* material (*opa loulihi*).

No informant had seen an example of these *opa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *la hupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *opa* garment ascribed to them during their stays in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the man or women to whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *opa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorized person handled the *opa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

[787 828]

292 A special type of headdress (*tumuta hesu* or *tumuta alihi*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

842 827 stops the monthly period and creates the fetus. If the fetus is male, it is formed mainly from the semen. If the fetus is female, it is formed mainly from the blood of the female. If the child when born partakes strongly of the likeness of the father and the mother, then it has been formed equally from the semen and the blood of the mother. The best time for conception, according to Pau, is immediately after the menstrual period, never before; common opinion, however, has no ideas as to whether one part of the monthly cycle is more or less favorable to conception than another.

843 189 The recognized sign of conception is cessation of the menses, invariably accompanied by the mother's having a *mini wakatiti* [illegible] (conception dream) of a coconut tree full of nuts, or of a fruitful taro patch, or of blossoming flowers or blooming trees. A later indication recognized is the darkening of the nipples. The sign for the father is a *mini wakatiti tangata* of a flock of birds. When a man has this dream he tells his wife of it and asks her to confirm the fact of her pregnancy. Pau said that the god of the lineage sends these dreams to the parents or to relatives of the couple, and they are sure signs of pregnancy.

[128]

843 Gestation is reckoned as taking ten full moons to complete. Delivery is to be expected on the tenth moon after conception takes place. A woman refers to the moon in which she expects confinement as her *mahaapuaka* (womb). No mnemonic device is used in the moon count.

842 No contraceptive methods are known, nor is there a belief in the possibility of contraception.

No medicine or therapy is known that will enable a sterile woman to have children. The only cause of sterility and hence the only cure is psychological:

> All the reasons adduced for specific cases of sterility relate to the primary cause that the woman, or her husband, has a bad heart (*ngakau kino*). In order to have children, the woman must be humble and obedient to her husband, faithful in thought and deed, not given to adultery with other men, and sincerely anxious to have children, upon which the mind concentrates all her thoughts, during all her waking life. From this point of view, a Pukapukan woman is considered sterile (*wawine pongo*, woman of stone) not only if she has not had children, but if she has borne no more than one or two, or again, if, having had a child by a first marriage, she has remarried and has had no more children. According to informant's classification, the cultural ideal may be carried so far as to consider sterile a woman who has had four children, all by her first husband, and all of whom have died. The cultural attitude to sterility is best illustrated by the remarks made by a young man (*tapa*) to a sterile woman. It was on the evening following a big food division, when a group of young people were sitting about discussing the way the food had been divided. Chiding a childless woman of 30, the young man said: "What a pity to make a division of food for a woman without children. All she is good for is to *tikiko* (overcome)." It is good to give a full division to a woman with children, because then the food goes to make more children, but if the women is sterile, the food is wasted.

Pregnancy

843 Nausea after eating is common at the beginning of pregnancy. Another illness that marks pregnancy is the formation of an abscess on the abdomen. This is likely to occur in the second month. Not only is the pregnancy the

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

183 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

828 774 869 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

193 828 787 775 [829] Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 828 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 787 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti makatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

824 789 [521]

friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

178 771

Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

776

Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua punupunu: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangaloa: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yionga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (watu mauli ola).
Atua no te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *punupunu* and *tangaloa*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-loloa-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Nua-ya-o-Mataliki (Nina).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wakamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Taua and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incurable debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 [431] 653 851 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards. They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning. This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 828 577 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive practise of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to occasion, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 159 182 Lima (7:0), the adopted child of Mata and Lekau, comes back to Mata's house from working in the bush with Lekau, eats some food, throws off his loincloth and then starts to walk down the